

276 The sacred flat-pipe was also used in the sun-dance. It was once cap-
778 tured in war. Then the man who took it had bad dreams, until the pipe
[728] spoke to him in his dream and said, "Return me, or your tribe will be
destroyed." Then this man brought back the pipe, and his tribe made
peace with the Gros Ventre.

● 343 The making of a sweat-house was not restricted to certain persons. A
782 man wishing success in war would make a sweat-house for another per-
son, in order that he might accomplish the deed he had in mind. Or, if
a person was sick, one of his relatives might pledge to make a sweat-house
for him, just as he would a dance. In this case the sick person himself
would not necessarily use the sweat-house. On the other hand, a doctor
might prescribe sweating for a patient, and in this case the sick person would
enter the sweat-house.

About twelve or fourteen willow poles were cut for the sweat-house.
The entrance always faced the sun-
rise, and a small cottonwood-tree was
erected in front of it. To this, calico
or other property was tied by an old
man as a gift to the sun. The cloth
was partly blackened, the corners
being rubbed with charcoal.

When all the participants were
inside, the blankets were pulled down
and the house closed tight. Water
was poured on hot stones, at first five
times. Thereupon the lodge was
opened at the entrance and at the

Fig. 43 (50-4385). Sweat-house Tall.
Length, 90 cm.

opposite west end, and the people cooled. It was then closed again, and
this time water was poured on the rocks seven times. After cooling once
more, water was poured on the rocks nine times. The fourth time, the
man that poured the water could put as much or as little on the stones as
he wished. After the fourth time, the participants came out and bathed.
[757] If they were suffering from pain, they whipped that part of the body with
buffalo or horse tails. This practice made the heat greatest at that point,
much as if it were beaten into the body.



1908.]

Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*.

275

A man who pledges and erects a sweat-house does not participate in the sweating. He makes the fire, heats the rocks and passes them into the house, raises and lowers the blankets, and performs other services.

In sweating, animal tails were sometimes used to beat the body with. Fig. 43 shows such an implement, made of the tail of a buffalo, on a stick handle cased in the skin of the tail. This object is similar to the Arapaho specimens described in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" (Vol. XVIII, p. 310), but is noticeable for the shortness of the hair on the tail.

When people were called to come to sweat, *hixteib'nix'a't* ("Above-Nix'a't") was first called to sweat with them. Then the people were called. This personage, whose name also means "Above-white-man," is said to have been prayed to before the whites were known; but the Gros Ventre, like the Arapaho, state that they do not know whether he is identical with the *Nix'a't* of their myths. Ordinary prayers were always addressed first to *hixteib'nix'a't* or to *liqanānin* ("our father"), then the sun and moon would be mentioned, next the sacred pipes, and then the earth. After these had been mentioned, anything else could be prayed to.

A charm tied on horses to make them run fast consists of rabbit-feet painted red and tied together. The Arapaho used rabbits' feet for the same purpose.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1804 is a pair of wild-cat-tails worn by young men at the shoulder, or at the heel of a moccasin. They were also tied to children's belts, next to the skin, in order to keep them from wetting the bed.

Specimen Museum No. 50-1903 is a gorget (commonly called by the Indians in English "moon-shell") said to have been made in the old way from an intervertebral disk of a buffalo. At present these objects are usually slightly concave, and are made of china.

The Gros Ventre, according to Dr. Clark Wissler, call certain corrugated fossil stones "thunder-stones." The Assiniboine seem to use the same name. The Blackfeet, who perhaps have most developed the cult of these objects, call them "buffalo-stones." A specimen from the Northern Arapaho is shown in the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History" [These are probably *Ammonoite* septa. - Analyst]



Fig. 44 (50-4280).
Thunder-stone Necklace.
Length, 21 cm.

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[237]

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[301]

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[301]
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Miscellaneous Private Rites and Observances

401

The sweat-bath was resorted ritually on many occasions other than those mentioned in the immediately preceding pages and passim in preceding sections. Coming Daylight spoke of it in a general way as "the thing they [the Gros Ventres] go through with when they don't want something to happen." On some of these many occasions reported by our informants there was no mention of accompanying offerings,—for instance the many sweat-baths Singer made for her sick husband (or were these purely "rational" curative measures, as may have been the sweating Coming Daylight went through for her rheumatism?). The sweat-lodge was commonly used, especially as we have seen, in connection with professional doctoring.

The sweat-bath was resorted to rather commonly—how commonly we cannot say—for pleasure, as a purely rational hygienic and curative measure, and for cleanliness. In such cases, no ceremony at all was connected with it. The keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes, if known to like sweating,—but not otherwise,—could be invited, but without ritual accompaniment. There was no mixed-sex sweating; men sweated with men, women with women. Sweating was a little hard on novices unused to the heat and steam. The white man who asked to learn about the Feathered Pipe was told: "The first night in a sweat-bath is pretty hard and beginners are allowed to lie down close to the ground." Singer, once when being washed by a medicine man, had to leave the lodge as soon as the water was poured on the stones; she could not stand the heat. Mary Ereaux' mother used to keep her head outside the sweat-lodge when sweating. Those, however, habituated to sweating, found the after-effect pleasant and soothing. As Al Chandler expressed it: "After you are all through sweating you sure feel good. You could go right to sleep."

The sweaters during the sweating whipped themselves,—"to make them even hotter" (Al Chandler), "to dry themselves" (Coming Daylight)—with formerly a whip made of a buffalo tail attached to a handle, or later of "a horse tail or any old thing."

The sweat-lodge for secular use was always beehived shaped, of bent willows framework, but no special number of willows was required.

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[412]

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1908.]

Kroeber, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.*

227

A plant called *tyāñānou* is used as perfume, as a wash for the hair, and as a minor medicine. Bunches of the plant were used as perfume. A tea boiled of it is thought to make the hair grow while perfuming it. Such a tea is also poured into the nostrils as a remedy for headache (specimen Museum No. 50-1920). 278
757
[302]

Niibyouxtjin is used as perfume. The stems and leaves are chewed and applied to the body (specimen Museum No. 50-1853). [302]

Tsaa"sūbin is used as perfume. It is chewed, and rubbed on the hair (specimen Museum No. 50-1792).

One ingredient of incense is the callosity from the leg of a horse above the knee. This is cut up fine, and burned with sweet-grass. It is also worn on the body on a string.

Pine-nuts or other conifer-seeds are used for pemmican (specimen Museum No. 50-1913). [562]
824

For embroidery, dark fibrous water-plants, at^hin (the *Arapaho atahina*), are used (specimen Museum No. 50-1891).

Quills are dyed yellow with a solution from a conifer-lichen, no doubt the widely used *Evernia vulpina*, called *otsahaa*ⁿ (specimen Museum No. 50-1873). [386]

TRIBAL CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION.

The Gros Ventre ceremonial organization is akin to that of the *Arapaho* with such differences as would be expected from the differences in language and the period of separation of the two tribes. The fundamental feature of this organization, the grouping of men by ages and the observance of a series of a half-dozen ceremonies in order according to age, is common to the two tribes. The ceremonies vary somewhat, and in a few cases their names or order have been changed; but among both tribes there are about six regular consecutive men's ceremonies, one or two that are preliminary or somewhat outside of this series, a single ceremony for women corresponding to those for men, and the sun-dance, which is included by the Indians in the enumeration of their grouped ceremonies, but differs from the others in not being connected with age, or with any society-like association of individuals. 561
796

Among the Gros Ventre the dancing-lodge for these ceremonies -- which is erected in the centre of the camp-circle, and, like this, opens to the east -- is constructed of two large tents. The lodge is open above, and appears to be oval or round in shape. The dancers, before beginning the ceremony, secure old men, who are called their "grandfathers," and are their instruct- 346
796

796 from this part of the robe. At the end of each of these, a bunch of owl-feathers, or rather a piece of owl-skin, was attached. The dancers carried bows, to each end of which seven crow-feathers were tied. Down was fastened to the bowstring at several places. At the handle of the bow a strip of bear-skin, owl-feathers, and some sage were fastened with a buck-skin thong. Four arrows accompanied each bow. One had a metal point, which subsequently was made more effective by medicine. The three other arrows were blunt, or had wooden points that had been chewed soft so as to be harmless.

[411]

The pledger, and three other men called "brothers" (hinähäyitou), who sat apart from the other dancers in the lodge and acted somewhat differently on certain occasions, had bows that were unornamented, except for the down on the string. These four men wore their robes turned so that the hair was outside, whereas the other dancers wore the dressed side out.

[302]
[824]

All the dancers were painted entirely red. Their hair was daubed with white paint. They stopped the left ear with a mushroom, such as was used for tinder, and put paint (apparently white) over the ear and the entire left side of the face.

Four young men who would be good workers were selected to be the assistants or servants (atsaan) of this company. They brought wood and water, and performed other services.

• [346]

The lodge for this dance is described as having been made of travois or tent poles about which tent-skins were drawn. It was open to the east. There was a fire about in the centre. Facing the opening of the lodge was a small partial enclosure or screen constructed on dog-travois. In this were the pledger and his three companions, the "brothers." The dancers are said to have occupied the northern half of the wall in the dancing-lodge; the "grandfathers," behind whom sat the dancers' wives, the southern half. As among the Arapaho, the dancers were divided into two sections; the tall men toward the rear and the short men toward the front, of the lodge. These two divisions competed against each other in the races to follow. The dancers' bows were stood up in the ground in a row just beyond the fire.

[302]
[824]
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During the four days of the dance, the dancers, every morning before sunrise, went to their "grandfathers" to be painted. Apparently they went to their "grandfathers'" tents, and not to the dancing-lodge, for this purpose. The dancers' wives went with them. They were naked, and were painted too. No one but the "grandfather" looked at them. Before being painted, the dancers made incense of sage-leaves on burning charcoal. They also rubbed their bodies with fragrant fir or balsam leaves

Crushed and mixed with fat.

1908.]

Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventre.

253

They also had rattles similar to those of the rank and file of dog-dancers,—
 a row of small hoofs attached to a stick,—except that the rattles of the
 tsögyanehin were forked instead of single. In addition they each had a long
 wooden whistle. 796
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Some of the "grandfathers" are said also to have worn scarfs, like the
 dancers; but as these were made of pieces of old tent-skins, undecorated
 and ugly, it is probable that this action was intended to be ridiculous.

The "shaggy dog" took his whistle, forked rattle, and head-dress with him
 when he went to the lodge, but left his crow-feather-covered shirt behind.
 When he was in the lodge, a woman was sent for the shirt. She put it on,
 and went to the lodge, wearing it. Standing before the "shaggy dog," she
 pulled it off, and, holding it open at the bottom, moved four times as if to put
 it on him. The fourth time, she drew it over and on him. The place of
 the two "shaggy dogs" in the lodge was at the western end, the middle
 of the buck.

The dog-lodge is described as having been constructed like the crazy-
 lodge, and to have had the same small screen or partial enclosure at the
 eastern end, facing the entrance of the lodge. 796
 [346]

The beginning of the dancing was as follows. One of the old men who
 would sing, went in a circle four times. He was followed by the two "shaggy
 dogs." The old man began to sing and dance, and the two "shaggy dogs"
 whistled. When they moved to any distance away from him, the old man
 motioned and clicked to them, as one does to a dog. Then they danced
 toward him. After this, the rank and file of the dancers stood up and danced.
 Four servants of the dance, said to have been chiefs, sat in front of the small
 enclosure at the east. When they thought that the dancers had danced
 long enough, one of these went among them and said, "Friends, rest."
 Thereupon they all stopped dancing, standing in their places. Then this
 man told a war story. When the singers thought that the dancers had rested
 sufficiently, they began to sing and the members of the company took up their
 dancing again. Altogether they danced four times, being made to rest
 each time by the exhortation of an old man who told a war story. This
 dancing took place four days, during which period the dancers were sup-
 posed not to sleep.

When at night the dancers left the lodge and danced before the tents of
 chiefs, begging for gifts, the two "shaggy dogs" are said to have stood by
 the door of the tent. It is therefore probable that the body of the dancers
 formed a circle in front of the tent, as they do among the Arapaho on this
 occasion. When the owner of the tent had given them property, he pulled
 at the flaps hanging at the sides of the feather-covered shirts of the "shaggy
 dogs," whereupon they sat down and the dancing ceased. This dancing
 for gifts is said to have continued for four entire nights. [431]

793 informed one, feasting them and also, *de regueur*, giving payment
 *796 in valuable goods for each bit of instruction received. In these
 instruction sessions, the last keeper usually played the leading role,
 but the others would coach and correct when necessary or one
 of them if better informed on this or that point might teach while
 the last keeper took a back seat. The retiring co-keeper did most
 of the instruction of the new co-keeper. The Feathered Pipe keeper
 co-keeper, ex-keepers, and ex-co-keepers would commonly sit in
 at these sessions, but only as guests, without taking part in the
 instruction. Lame Bull, when first made keeper, got a great deal
 of his instruction from Deer, an earlier exceptionally well informed
 keeper.

793 A ritual relationship was contracted between the new keeper
 608 and co-keeper on the one hand and the ex-keeper and ex-co-keepers
 on the other. All the ex-keepers become "grandfathers" to the
 new keeper and co-keeper; all the ex-co-keepers, "grandmothers"
 to them; and are so addressed by these names respectively. The re-
 tiring keeper and co-keeper became, as it were, principal "grand-
 father" and "grandmother" respectively. This sacred relationship
 was looked upon as very like that between grandparents and grand-
 children by blood. Privileged familiarity in the way of vulgar talk
 and banter, between these ritual grandparents and grandchildren,
 obtained, but not quite the large degree of freedom that obtained
 between grandparents and grandchildren by blood.* The ritual
 "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" also had certain recognized
 [626] powers of control over their "grandchildren": if, for instance, one
 of these "grandsons" went on a berserk rampage and was about to
 kill a fellow-tribesman, and his own father and mother could not
 bring him to reason, one of the ritual grandfathers might be called
 in to reason with his grandson and the latter would have to abandon
 his angry murderous design.

KEEPER'S LODGE

342 The Flat Pipe keeper's lodge was a large one, undecorated on
 346 the outside except for a portion painted red around the door.

* Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

The Flat Pipe

55

The lodges of the other people faced toward the east-southeast, from utilitarian consideration, since the prevailing and strongest winds were from the northwest in winter and west in summer. But the door of the keeper's lodge was toward the south, an orientation determined by the ritual position of the Pipe inside the lodge, namely, in the place of honor opposite the door with the stem pointing toward the rising sun. [36]

The interior of the keeper's lodge was arranged as follows. In the center was the family hearth. About midway between this and the north segment was the square incense hearth, with the west half of black sand and the east of red. At the north, close to the wall, was the Pipe bed and place for the Pipe tripod. The bed, oriented east and west, was made of a buffalo robe over sage brush. At each end was a willow back rest, and over each rest a robe of summer-pelage (after winter coat completely shed) buffalo skin. The tripod, of three legs, was a little over five feet high. The Pipe bundle was either laid on the bed close to the wall or else hung on the tripod, always with the stem to the rising sun. The northern part of the lodge, including the incense hearth and Pipe bed and adjacent area, in all about one-third of the interior, constituted a sort of "sanctuary."

The keeper's sleeping bed, with its back rest toward the north, was a little removed from the Pipe bed, toward the west; the co-keeper's in a corresponding position toward the east. The Pipe child commonly slept on the Pipe bed, alongside of and to the south of the Pipe bundle, with his head to the east. If however the keeper or co-keeper wanted to sleep on the Pipe bed in order to dream, the Pipe child would then give place and sleep in his father's or mother's bed as the case might be. When any of the three slept on the Pipe bed, the Pipe bundle might hang on the tripod over them or else rest on the northern edge of the bed nearest the wall. In the latter case, the tripod was folded up and leaned between the Pipe bed and the co-keeper's bed. According to Thick the sleepers had to lie flat on their backs all night. According, however, to The Boy they were forbidden to do so and had instead to lie on their sides, because the turtle was closely associated with the Flat Pipe and if a turtle gets on its back it cannot right itself. [784] [825]

342 The triangular space between the foot of the Pipe bed and the
 ●346 head of the keeper's bed served the keeper as a place to keep such
 353 of his personal and ritual belongings as his peppermint, sage
 brush, personal smoking pipe, and so forth.

778 In good weather, the Pipe bundle was taken outside by the co-
 788 keeper in the morning (rite to be described later) and hung up,
 stem to east, on the outside of the keeper's lodge just above the
 door, the thong handle of the bundle being looped around a pin
 of the lodge. About sundown the bundle was brought inside again
 by the co-keeper to its ritual place. At night the opening of the
 keeper's lodge was securely closed with a piece of rawhide, shaped
 like the door, covered with a sort of lattice work of rawhide, and
 fastened from the inside.

778 The keeper's lodge, as the depository of the Flat Pipe and the
 dwelling of the consecrated custodians thereof, had to be treated
 with great respect. This respect was formalized in a number of
 ritual and other observances.

784 No one was permitted to step over the incense hearth, under
 penalty of being inflicted with fits.

When the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child took off their
 moccasins for the night, these had to be deposited, not alongside
 the beds or under the pillows or anywhere in the "sanctuary," but
 near the lodge door,—the keeper's to the west of the door, the
 co-keeper's to the east, the Pipe child's to either the west or the
 east *ad libitum*. If this were not done, severe headaches would
 result.

Anyone entering the keeper's lodge or leaving it or passing from
 one part of it to another, always had to walk clockwise.

784 When anything was going on therein, with men and women both
 516 present, the men had to sit on the western side, the women on the
 eastern. When they sat down, they could not sit with legs
 stretched out in front; the men squatted on their heels with knees
 touching the ground and legs parallel, while the women sat on
 their buttocks with their legs to the right side one leg under
 the other.

784 No one, adult or child, could throw stones or sticks at the
 keeper's lodge. Children were not allowed to play or fool or romp

*796 afterwards according to the Ni:hahat story or after the great deluge according to the flood story.

[515
721] Ritual sweating and use of the sweat-lodge, tsē:bātc, were resorted to by the Gros Ventres on many occasions not connected with the sacred pipe rites,—skin and finger-joint sacrifices, war expeditions, and dreamed-of impending evils. Sweating in such cases will be dealt with in the proper places, as also sweating at the Feathered Pipe rites and Sacred lodges. The sweat-lodge rite was obligatory at the following Flat Pipe ceremonies: the three seasonal rites, the transfer rite (previously described), rites in fulfillment of a vow to smoke the Pipe or to paint its bowl, or to make a sweat-lodge for the keeper or for the Pipe, and at the disposal of offerings to the Pipe.

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*796 Before a war party started out, among other ceremonial observances a sweat-lodge rite was commonly gone through. A Flat Pipe Keeper might on such an occasion take pity on the leader and members of the departing war party, build his own 31-stick sweat-lodge, and go through the sweating rite. If, furthermore, the keeper accompanied the war party, he might do the same from time to time during the course of the expedition.

*796 For the present we shall confine our attention chiefly to the sweat-lodge as used in the three seasonal rites, dealing first with the sweat-lodge itself, and after that with the sweating rite. We merely reiterate in passing that the sweating rite, obligatory in a seasonal rite, was somewhat distinct from the ceremonial which followed it and which was carried out in the keeper's lodge.

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*796 The Flat Pipe sweat-lodge was constructed as follows. In ground plan it was more or less circular about 7 to 9 feet in diameter, with two openings, the main larger entrance at the east and the smaller exit opening at the west. The general form was nearly semi-spherical. On each side, the northern and southern, 15 willows were stuck in the ground. The number 30 may represent a multiple [802] of the sacred number three, and one of our informants conjectured, with particular reference to the 30 poles of lodge where He-who-starved-to-death slept fasting on the 30 successive nights. These 30 willows were arched over and woven fast into a ridge willow that ran the east-west axis of the structure. Thus the sweat-lodge was constructed of 31 willows in all.

The Flat Pipe Ritual

91

The ridge willow was painted all black with charcoal. Each of the other 30 lateral willows was painted black around its whole circumference just at the point where the upright section began to bend or arch. This "painting" was done by grasping the willow at this point with the blacked palm. Each willow was also painted black at the very top where the arched willows met, this painting being done by simultaneously grasping each two willows at the top. The whole framework was covered with robes when the sweating was about to take place. 346
796*

Inside the sweat-lodge at about its centre, was dug a pit, about 2 feet square by about 15-16 inches deep, as a deposit hearth for the heated rocks. Around the four sides of the square pit at near ground level there was a beveled groove of earth, with the bevel slanting outward and downward from the edge of the pit. The surfaces of the bevel and the bottom of the pit were covered with powdered charcoal.

From near the two corners of the eastern beveling to the two first willows flanking the main entrance, the ground space was cleared of grass and smoothed even, and this space was covered with powdered charcoal.

Sage brush was laid around the inside of the sweat-lodge next to the wall.

At three spots on the east-west axis of the sweat-lodge,—on the surface of the west bevel, on the bottom of the pit at its centre, and just doorward of the east bevel on the cleared charcoaled space,—incense places, pi-shaped with the open side toward the east, were made with powdered red paint.

Near to and east of the main entrance on a line with the east-west axis of the lodge were the hearth and fire for heating the rocks. Still farther removed, about 25 feet from the main entrance and on the same axis, was the pipe mound, circular in ground plan, about 2 feet in diameter more or less conical in shape, made with the earth that had been taken out to form the sweat-lodge pit. [492]
The dirt so dug out had to be carried, not in the hands, but on a choice piece of buffalo hide with the fur on. The ordinary pipe* (not the Flat Pipe), used to pray and smoke with in the sweating ritual, was placed on the west slope of this mound, with stem up

- 346 toward the east and bowl filled down toward the west. At sweating
 *796 rites on certain occasions as when a man was fulfilling a vow to
 make a sweat-house for the Pipe or when a participant offered
 bits of his flesh, a buffalo skull was placed on top of the mound,
 but not at seasonal rites.

Close to the mound, eastward thereof, on the east-west axis, was erected the pole on which offerings were hung. The pole was a small straight tree trunk, not too big, with the limbs trimmed off but the bark left on, well imbedded upright in the ground. It was colored black all the way round by grasping it with a blackened palm, in three places,—about head high, about half way between this point and the top, and at the very top.

[36] The Pipe sweat-lodge was erected near the keeper's tent, outside the camp circle. A new one was built for each seasonal rite.

*796 The chief components of the sweat-lodge ceremony of the Flat Pipe seasonal rite were: the preparation, presentation and disposal of gifts; the invitation to the sweaters; the smudging; the prayer with and smoking of a common pipe; the sweating proper; the three series of songs. Of these components the principal one was the offering of the gifts or sacrifices. The sweat-lodge and sweating were necessary "to make the offering complete." In other words, the whole rite was essentially a sacrificial one. The offerings were given voluntarily by members of the tribe, including commonly the keeper himself. The gifts or sacrifices were offered to the Supreme Being through the inferior beings who entered into the rite and in a sense through the Flat Pipe.

The sweat-lodge rite had three main divisions with three songs sung at each: the preparation of the offerings, the hanging of them on the offerings pole, and the sweating and associated observances within the sweat-lodge.

The sweat-lodge rite began with the preparation of the offerings. If the whole seasonal rite was a three-day one, this preparation took place on the first night and day, the rite at and in the sweat-lodge on the second day, and the separate Pipe rite in the keeper's lodge on the third; if a one-day one, the preparation of the offerings took place the night before, the rite at or in the sweat-lodge early on the following morning, and rite in the keeper's lodge during the day. The whole order and content of the rites

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793 preme Being through Bha'a, the Supreme Being is the father of the Pipe."

In the cases where the new keeper was elected in secret conclave and not told or asked beforehand, at night after the camp was asleep a group sneaked up to the electee's lodge, and one of the group carrying the feathered stick from the Pipe bundle entered the lodge. If the electee tried to escape, the watchers outside would grab and hold him. The electee was raided and lost everything, his lodge and horses and other belongings,—just as the man to whom the Pipe had first been given from above lost everything. Afterwards, however, the relatives and friends of the electee, anybody that could, would give a new lodge, new bedding and other lodge equipment, and horses,—as was done to the first owner and keeper.

After being grabbed, the new keeper and his wife were carried—they did not walk—to the lodge of the retiring keeper who put a cloth over their heads. They were thus in the dark and didn't know what was going on until a special song was sung and the cloth removed. We were unable to secure many details of the transfer rite. The rite included, of course, ritual and other instruction of the new keeper, and co-keeper for which he had to pay handsomely,—for instance, a horse for a ritual song taught him. For [431] these payments he had to count on his relatives and friends who, later in the course of his keepership, would receive equivalent presents in return. A central feature of the transfer rite was the new keeper's dance with the Pipe. In earlier times, in fact up to about 1905, it was only the keeper, we were informed, who could dance with the Pipe and this only at the transfer rite.

● 346 Apparently the lodge of the Feathered Pipe keeper was very like that of the Flat Pipe keeper, and under similar respect taboos, 353 but we were able to obtain only fragmentary specific information.

[784] At the back of the lodge, in the place of honor opposite the door, was the Pipe bed of sage brush, laid down with the tip ends pointed toward the lodge center, and covered with a white buffalo robe. When the group was camping at the same site for any length of time, in good weather the Pipe bundle was hung up during the daytime over the lodge door.

346 All movement within the lodge was clockwise. There could be 784

The Feathered Pipe and Other Pipes

137

no crying by children in the lodge; if a child started to cry it was taken out at once. Dogs were not allowed in the lodge, nor could the keeper use a dog robe. Bones could not be broken in the lodge to extract marrow, as in the case of the Flat Pipe lodge and under the same penalty. War-deed contests in the Feathered Pipe lodge were prohibited and penalized, as in the Flat Pipe lodge,—with a four-day penalty. The right of asylum was recognized exactly as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge.

The lodge occupied a place of honor in the camp circle, but whether opposite the opening of the circle or just in front of the keeper's band is controverted, as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge (see p. 58).

The prerogatives and restrictions attaching to the keepership of the Feathered Pipe appear to have been quite similar in number and kind to those attaching to the keepership of the Flat Pipe, although we did not obtain as full details regarding them as we did for the Flat Pipe. We shall mention only those prerogatives and restrictions for which we obtained specific information. The functional relation of the various prerogatives and restrictions to the sacredness and dignity of the keepership was quite the same for both Pipes.

In accord with the dignity of their office, the keeper and co-keeper were expected to comport themselves respectably on all occasions and to conform to the strict ethical norms to be mentioned presently.

The people were in turn expected to treat them with great respect. Things asked for by the keeper had to be handed to him, not thrown, exactly as with the Flat Pipe keeper, and under the same penalty. If someone absent-mindedly stepped over the out-stretched feet or legs of the keeper, the latter would keel over in a faint and the co-keeper would have to smudge him ritually to bring him to, or the offender would fall down with a "cramp." Coming Daylight once saw a woman in a crowded place step over the feet of the Feathered Pipe co-keeper. The woman "fell in a cramp." Her mother got angry and upbraided the co-keeper: "You ought to know better than to leave your feet sticking out." But her sister went over and kissed the co-keeper and begged her in a nice way to doctor the stricken woman. So the co-keeper got up and

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*796 ceremonies before taking up the ceremonies themselves one by one. And first of all the sweat-lodge and its ritual.

The Feathered Pipe sweat-lodge and sweating ritual came in when the Pipe itself was given by Bha'a to the first keeper.

*796 The sweat-lodge, large enough to accommodate several people, and with crowding up to ten or twelve, was constructed like the Flat Pipe sweat-lodge,—with the framework of willows about an inch in diameter tied to a ridge willow, with main entrance to the east, and with slanting cleared space from pit to door. According to Garter Snake, 23 willows were used, 11 on each side, plus the ridge willow; according to Jim Shortman, 24; according to Al Chandler, 26. The interior pit was circular, with a circular cleared bevel and groove around it, and about one to one-and-a-half feet deep. The three pi-shaped incense hearths of the Flat Pipe sweat-lodge were apparently lacking. The willows forming the doorposts were painted red "about half-way down." To the east of the lodge, on the east-west axis line, were, in order, the hearth for heating the stones, the mound (made of the dirt dug out to make the pit), the buffalo skull, and the offerings pole, just as in the Flat Pipe layout.

*796 The sweating rite corresponded, so far as our data go, with the Flat Pipe sweating rite. Presumably the offerings were ritually wrapped and tied, for they were later hung on the offerings pole, but we obtained no information on the wrapping ceremony. The offerings were tied onto the offerings pole; a special song was sung for this tying. A large pipe filled with tobacco, which rested slanting on the west side of the mound, bowl down, was taken, as in the Flat Pipe sweating ceremony, by an old man chosen for the purpose. Standing by the mound and holding the Pipe, stem up, in both hands, he gave the invitations to sweat. He invited by name first the Supreme Being, calling his name four times; next and finally each of the old men who were to sweat, calling each name only once. According to Jim Shortman, the Four Holy Beings, and four Pipe keepers (the original first one and three others) were also invited, with fourfold calling of the names. After all the invitees had entered the sweat-lodge, they smoked the common pipe.

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*796 over and sat down with the principal vower and his grandfather and all six of them smoked the grandfather's filled pipe. When they had finished smoking, two young men selected for the purpose started to actually fell the tree. As soon as the tree began to totter, the four scouts shot at it and yelled, just as was done at the killing of an enemy in real warfare.

After the tree was "shot down," it was dragged in by the young men "soldiers," with much yelling and shooting, and was deposited at the spot where the Sacrifice Dance was to be held.

[262] Then a recess was taken and those not obliged to fast ate. The chief food eaten at the Sacrifice Dance was buffalo tongues and pemmican, both already prepared, which could be eaten in a hurry, for no one knew at what moment some order to be obeyed would be announced by the crier.

[593] After the recess the "soldiers" went out to get the other poles and the brush needed for the dance lodge. Each "soldier" would choose a woman, not his own wife, but "his sister-in-law, or any other woman of whom he was not bashful" to ride double with and accompany him. The women would dress up and stand outside their lodges waiting for the men to come along and put them on their horses. The woman sat on the saddle, the man riding behind her. Some women would run away so as to avoid going out with the men, "probably," Coming Daylight stated, "because these ones were afraid of their husbands." Coming Daylight herself had never so gone, but Singer had. "Some husbands," Singer commented, "were too jealous to allow their wives to go with other men to get branches for the Sacrifice Dance lodge."

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●346 The poles and brush were brought in, and a number of hoisting props were made. These props were made each of two tent poles; to one end of each pole a single short transverse connecting thong was fastened. The two divisions of "soldiers" the "talls" and the "shorts," each then split up into two subdivisions making four subdivisions in all. At the call of the crier, "Get ready," these four subdivisions began to march toward the hole, previously dug, for the center pole which lay alongside, all singing their parade song. On the way toward the spot, each of the four subdivisions had a number of the double-pole hoisting props, each prop being carried

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vertically by two men, and the subdivisions all made four stops or halts, the last one right where center pole lay. Here they recessed a bit, waiting for the Flat Pipe.

"The man who was going to put up the center pole," apparently the principal vower, would then take some goods as presents to the Flat Pipe keeper and ask that the Pipe be brought over for the raising of the center pole. The Flat Pipe was then brought to the spot by the co-keeper, with the ritual observances previously described (supra, p. 117), the prayer on the occasion being said by the Flat Pipe keeper, not by the vower or his grandfather or anyone else, and after the pole was up the co-keeper took the Pipe back. The bringing of the Pipe was intended, according to The Boy, to add solemnity and prestige by such participation to the Sacrifice Dance and to "sort of bless the dance and ask that good would come of it."

The center pole was forked at the top and was decorated, as described in detail on page 10, with symbols of Bha'a. At the base of the erected pole was an old bleached buffalo skull, placed facing the lodge door.

Before the center pole was raised, the principal vower's wife was taken over to the pole by his (and her) ceremonial grandfather who then "blew medicine" on it four times, the wife putting a band around it, and also the other poles of the dance lodge, with red paint.

The center pole was quickly raised, with the mechanical help of the hoisting props and apparently with the supernatural help of the Flat Pipe. Everybody cheered when the pole was finally raised upright in its hole. After it was firmly embedded, the upper ends of the rafters were placed in the center pole fork, the lower ends, seemingly, in other forked upright posts, and lashed on with rawhide. The sides of the circular dance lodge were then filled in with willows. The lodge was located near the center of the camp circle and faced south. According to Singer, "only great warriors went out to get sticks to keep the lodge lighted at night."

Clothing, dry goods and other offerings were tied on to the rafters, not on to the center pole, either before the lodge was erected or afterwards by a young man who climbed up the structure to tie

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*796 The main rites of the Crazy Dance extended over four days and four nights, and were followed by a period of "talking backward" and other "crazy" behavior by the dancers. Dancers did not fast during the dance, as did vowers during the Sacrifice Dance, but ate heartily. Large quantities of food were procured beforehand, and many puppies were killed and cooked to provide the delicacy, dog meat. The dancers, however, were not allowed to swim, bathe, or "touch water" during the Dance. If any dancer did so, Bha'a would get angry and there would be a big storm. On each of the four nights of the dance, the dancers slept in the Crazy Dance lodge, but after each night they went back home in the morning to paint up.

[262]
[784] *796 The Crazy Dance lodge was erected in the center of the camp circle, not far from the chief vower's tipi and executive headquarters. The "lodge" was an open roofless circular corral made of upright poles about 6 or 7 feet high stuck in the ground, with a wide opening to the south according to Coming Daylight, to the southeast according to The Boy and Thick. To the top of the poles were lashed tipi poles to make a railing. Over this railing were hung tipi covers, which lapped over on the ground inside the corral as a place on which to rest and sleep. The tipi covers needed—two, or three, or more, depending on the number of the vower's age-group who participated and hence on the size of the corral—were taken, without asking permission, by the dancers from enemy-friends belonging to the next older age-group of the dancers' own society, Stars or Wolves as the case might be.

*796 Inside the corral, at the place of honor immediately to the right of the opening, according to The Boy, or opposite the opening according to Coming Daylight, a little sort of wickiup was put up. Here, as the ceremony started, sat the chief vower and here was kept the ritual badger skin. The crier(s) (and council of four?) also were in the wickiup, according to The Boy and Thick. Very little of what went on inside the wickiup was known to our informants.

The participant dancers sat in the corral on either side, the "talls" on the west, the "shorts" on the east, with their respective ritual grandfathers and wives,—the dancers in front, the grand-

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796 the grandmother died she was buried with it. Coming Daylight
 [292] and Singer had never heard in their grandmothers' time of the
 "cows" wearing belts with four buffalo tails attached, or being
 painted with a pipe symbol on the cheeks, or calling like crows
 when dancing.⁴⁰ The "cows" would don their good buckskin
 dresses for the dance, and, according to Singer, wore "for their
 belts a little calf robe tied around."

The "bull" wore as a headdress the shaggy skin of a buffalo
 head with the horns attached. Coming Daylight emphatically in-
 sisted that only one woman, the "bull," had horns on her head-
 dress.⁴¹

The two attendants danced during the rite, but had no feathered
 or horned headdresses. Coming Daylight mentioned wearing her
 elk-tooth dress when functioning as a "calf," but spoke of no
 specific ritual costume for "calves" or for the "bull calf."

346 The dance lodge, a big one, was, according to The Boy, set up
 *796 outside the camp circle. The men used to put it up for them. The
 center pole, not so big as the Sacrifice Dance one, was erected
 without ceremony, and was painted red by the "boss." Each dancer
 had her own [ceremonial?] digging-stick made of a stout cherry
 or Juneberry branch about 2" to 3" in diameter, with the distal
 [778] end pointed and curved. These digging sticks were tied to the
 center pole all around, with the handle end resting on the ground
 and the curved end pointing outward. Both sticks and ties were
 painted [red?] by the "boss." Coming Daylight remarked *apropos*
 of this: "I was small then, but I certainly looked to see how that
 pole was fixed. It is a good thing I did. Most children would be
 too crazy to observe how things were." She had never heard of
 two tent-poles, two pegs and two ropes of the dance lodge being
 painted respectively one black and one red.⁴² A fire burned in or
 close to the middle of the lodge.

*796 The two (or one) men singers sat in the place of honor in the

⁴⁰ Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 260-61.

⁴¹ Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 260. Coming Daylight had seen the Blood Indians' Women's Dance, with the women wearing headdresses like those of the Gros Ventre women and with the "bull" sitting over on the west side.

⁴² Kroeber, 1908, p. 261.

after a certain period of probation. He, however, broke the rule and doctored before his time was up. A night or so after he had doctored a spider came out of his ears and a thunder-rock out of his mouth, and so he lost his doctoring power. 778 787

Occasionally in connection with the power quest the right would be given to the quester to paint his lodge in a particular manner.¹³ 346 787 Among the Gros Ventre such sacred or holy painted lodges were relatively rare and were thought of very highly. We recorded one song (No. 88), a wordless one, which belonged with Bull Lodge's sacred lodge. Bull Lodge had been "invited" to quest for power at Baldy Butte, the highest peak in the Bear Paws. The being who gave him other powers also bestowed upon him his own lodge, with instructions how to paint it and the song to sing while it was being painted. Coming Daylight's father had a sacred lodge around the bottom of which were painted the figures of men, each figure the same and each with a feather in the head. The upper part was painted red. "At the tip of the ears of the lodge were things hanging, and feathers in back. The back part had a cross (morning star) and the sun."¹⁴

What has been said in the preceding pages about the circumstances of Gros Ventre quest may be illustrated by the following account given by Al Chandler of that of Little Man, his adoptive father: 787

"When Little Man first went out to seek power, the old medicine man (his tutor in the matter) told him: 'I am going with you.' So when they got out in the hills, maybe a whole day's travel to this place where he wanted to go, this old man asked Little Man where he wanted to go to fast and Little Man chose a place not very far away. So they went together. This old man cut his (Little Man's) flesh, took a pinch,—(some did it 3, 6, or 9 pinches), and prayed each time he cut a bit of flesh off. He told Little Man: 'Nobody is going to come after you until your time is up. If I tell you three days, nobody is coming after you until this time is up. In the meantime use your whole heart and don't get

¹³ There was a distinction between the sacred painted lodges and the lodges painted with war deeds. Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 68, 102.

¹⁴ For illustrations of sacred painted lodges, see Plate 4.

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Miscellaneous Private Rites and Observances

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offer a pipe to a band chief and ask him to avenge the son's death. The chief would accept the pipe and pray to the Supreme Being for success in the revenge expedition. Then the father would erect a sweat-lodge and make offerings in connection therewith, inviting a lot of "holy" old men to sweat and likewise to pray to the Supreme Being for success in the expedition.

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Al Chandler gave the following account: "A young fellow would go and tell some old medicine man that he was going to make a sweat-bath for him so that the old man would pray for him, and would ask him what he [the young man] should do, whether there was a certain special way of performing the ceremony, and how the sweat-lodge should be fixed. The medicine men had all different ways. Some medicine men would have, say, 18 willows at least for the sweat-lodge framework, or others 26, or 30 at the most, with four willows called the 'head frame' oriented toward the sunrise, or the north, or other direction. A hole about six inches deep was dug inside for the heated rocks and the surface cleared about an inch down from the hole to the door. On this cleared space, shaped more or less like a truncated triangle, some design in red paint might be drawn—such as a circle, or figure of a bird or man. A dozen different men might follow one particular set of specifications in case they had all gotten the right to do so from the same [medicine] man.

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"The fire for heating the rocks was made about 8 to 10 feet from the door of the sweat-lodge, and the dirt dug to make the hole in the lodge was put in a nice pile about 4 to 5 feet beyond the fireplace on the same axis therewith. The offerings made by the young fellow—such as calico or feathers—were tied on a willow stick about 6 or 7 feet long. He had also to get the rocks, to no specified number.

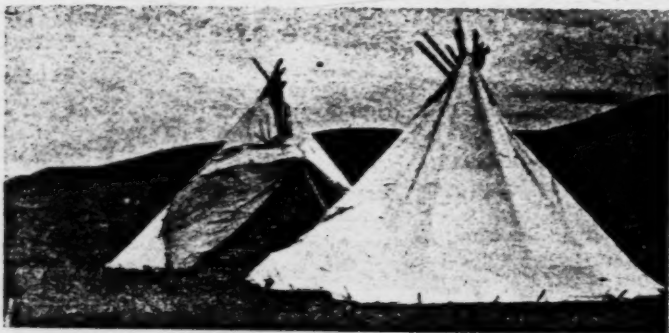
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"When all was ready the old fellow would tell the young man to get, say, 7 to 9 old men to come and join them. When they arrived, the rocks were all heated. The young man then gave the old man [the one he had first approached] the willow stick with the offerings tied to it. The old man then went to the dirt pile, faced in the direction in which the lodge faced, and holding the offerings on [over?] the pile prayed as loud as he could: 'God,

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957

NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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A. Double tipi for ceremony.

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B. The Boy prays with ordinary pipe.

[516
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C. The Boy smudges rattles over Flat Pipe hearth.

PLATE 1

[p. 425]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957

NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

● 346



A. Sacred painted lodge.



B. Sacred lodge of Iron Man I.



C. Another painted lodge.

PLATE 4

[P. 428]

GROS VENTRE GRASS DANCE

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of the society. The officers were free to transfer their ceremonial equipment to other members whom they would select. Following the typical Gros Ventre pattern of transfer of ownership, the recipient would present as lavish gifts as he could afford to the donor while the relatives of the recipient showed their appreciation of the favor to their kinsman by giving away expensive gifts in his honor. All of this took place publicly at the dance. [575] [796] [431]

Particular dances and songs were attached to each office and the owners of the ceremonial drumsticks were required to know in correct order all the numerous songs and to provide the musical accompaniment for the whole ceremony. These four drumstick owners were joined in certain of the songs by four women singers selected from among the wives of the Wolf-men. The owners of the various objects were responsible for the proper care thereof, the crow-belts and the drum receiving most respect. When not in use, the crow-belts were kept wrapped in special bundles in the lodges of their respective owners, but were hung outside when the owner's wife was in her menstrual period. Moreover, those who danced wearing the crow-belts were obliged to refrain from sexual relations for two or three days previous to the dancing and, before donning the belts, to make a smudge of sweet-grass to incense themselves and the crow-belts. The drum, too, received special attention. One informant speaks of it as having been "nicely decorated," and we know from Kroeber's description⁹ that the trimming was very similar to that of the Assiniboine Grass dance drum.¹⁰ [533] [841] [784] [833] [782]

Procedure. The actual dancing took place in a special circular dancing-place in the center of the camp circle. This "corral," as it was sometimes referred to, was constructed from several lodge covers, but was open at the top and the entrance thereto was at the east. The tipi of the drum-keeper was put up nearby. Opposite the opening of the "corral" was the place of honor where sat the officials,—with the exception of the sword owners, who with their assistants were at either side of the entrance. The

⁹ Kroeber, loc. cit., p. 238.

¹⁰ Lowie, R. H., The Assiniboine, AMNH-AP 4, pt. 1, 1909, p. 67.